

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (62-46855)
ATTN: RESEARCH SECTION
DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
SAC, NEW YORK (100-87235)

FROM : *JFM/KH*

SUBJECT: PURCHASE OF BOOKS
BOOK REVIEWS

DATE: 4/28/72

ReBUlet 4/20/72 and 4/27/72. *Bok*

Enclosed herewith is one copy of "The Rope
Dancer" by VICTOR L. MARCHETTI. "Pan-Africanism or
Communism" by GEORGE PADMORE. "A History of the Jews Since
the First Century A.D." *Book*
U.S.
Bok

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② - Bureau (62-46855)(ENC. 3) REC-4
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RESEARCH SECTION

RWA

CIA Showing Its Secrets in Bid to Polish Its Image

Criticism, New International Attitude Bring Disclosures; Lid Still on Vital Operations

By MURRAY SEAGER

Times Staff Writer

PART I
WASHINGTON—One of the biggest of the bureaucratic icebergs in Washington, the Central Intelligence Agency, is riding a little higher in the water these days.

Under the heaviest internal and external attacks of its 27-year history, "the agency" or, "the company"—as its employees and those who deal with the CIA call it—has initiated a subtle campaign to refurbish its political standing and generate new public support.

In this campaign the agency is disclosing more of itself to public view, while leaving what it considers to be vital dimensions well hidden beneath the surface of essential secrecy.

"If we don't protect the names of our people abroad and people who work with us, we won't have people who will work with us," William E. Colby, the career official who took over as CIA director last year in the midst of the agency's worst problems, said recently.

"If we can't protect some of our technical systems that give us information, then the other side can take countermeasures and we will no longer be able to benefit from those systems," he said.

The recent wave of criticism against the CIA, the keystone in an intelligence community that spends about \$8 billion a year, was stimulated by disclosures of its peripheral involvement in the Watergate scandals and its direct involvement in Chilean politics.

CIA officials are equally disturbed by the more recent phenomenon of employees leaving the tightly closed circle, where morale and loyalty traditionally have been remarkably high, and telling their accounts to books and magazine articles.

Although the officials say they are willing to accept informed criticism of the agency's performance and adjust their operations to changes in national policy, they are apprehensive about the possibly fatal effects of disclosures made by former agents.

"People can be killed," one CIA man said in referring to some of the recent insider tales of agency life. "These are people who put their faith in us."

The agency has strong authority to guard against secrets being dispersed by its current employees but the only restraint against former employees telling all is a contract they sign when they joined the CIA and the general laws against espionage.

The agency has been involved for months in an embarrassing suit directed at blocking publication of parts of the book, "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence," by Victor Marchetti, a former agency official, and John D. Marks, who worked for the Department of State.

A more recent book, "Inside the Company: a CIA Diary," by former agent Philip Agee, has been published in Britain, where, of course, the agency cannot block the printing of anything it considers sensitive.

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Brian Butler

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The Washington Post _____
 Washington Star-News _____
 Daily News (New York) _____
 The New York Times _____
 The Wall Street Journal _____
 The National Observer _____
 The Los Angeles Times **PART II-1**

NOV 18 1974

Date _____

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EX-112

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FBI

100-134974

To counter such ~~public~~ publications, the agency is supporting legislation that would make it a crime for former employees to disclose secret information.

Disclosures by former employees and other published information on the agency's activities have supplied ammunition for private individuals and congressmen who believe the CIA should give up its "dirty tricks."

"There is no justification in our legal, moral or religious principles for operations of a U.S. agency which result in assassinations, sabotage, political disruptions or other meddling in another country's internal affairs, all in the name of the American people," Sen. James G. Abourezk (D-S.D.) said.

"It amounts to nothing more than an arm of the U.S. government conducting a secret war without either the approval of Congress or the knowledge of the American people," he said.

The traditional rationale for such activity, that the Soviet Union works even harder to undermine and overturn legitimate governments, was given by President Ford at his Sept. 16 press conference when he was asked whether the CIA had an international right to interfere in the internal affairs of Chile.

"Our government, like other governments, does take certain actions in the intelligence field to help implement foreign policy and protect national security," Mr. Ford said. "I am informed reliably that Communist nations spend vastly more money than we do for the same kind of purposes."

He added: "I think this is in the best interest of the people in Chile, and certainly in our best interest."

Colby admits that the conflict between Western-style democracy and Communism has changed and that there is room for debate on the agency's future role.

"It is advocated by some that the United States abandon covert action," he said in a recent speech. "This is a legitimate question and in the light of current American policy . . . it would not have a major impact on our current activities or on the current security of the United States."

In recent history the CIA developed and sent an armed invasion against Cuba at the Bay of Pigs and armed a secret army in Laos in the Indochina war. However, it is supporting few, if any, such operations now.

In Chile the agency had subsidized opposition parties and newspapers in an attempt to block the election of Salvador Allende, a Marxist, to the presidency and later to prevent his crushing of all political opposition.

Although such operations apparently are sanctioned under the general public authorization issued by President Harry S Truman when he established the CIA in 1947 from the remains of the wartime Office of Strategic Services, the agency has been given more recent, secret authority to carry on covert actions abroad.

More controversy than that generated by the overseas "dirty tricks" was stimulated by the disclosure that the CIA had helped one of its former "old boys," E. Howard Hunt Jr., in his clandestine White House assignments without knowing what they were.

Domestic use of CIA authority is clearly illegal. Although the agency wavered under the strong



William E. Colby

photo

pressure of the Nixon White House, it finally fought back and saved its dented reputation.

"It was lower-level people who blew the whistle on Hunt," one agency member recalled. After giving the retired agent some equipment, the "lower-level" executives reported his requests to higher-ups, and Hunt was cut off from additional support.

On the international political scene, agency officials are examining the historic role of covert operations. They are convinced they must retain the capacity to take direct, secret actions but feel there is less demand for such operations than there was in the past.

In the contemporary world, American intelligence experts have made two major contributions, technology and research in their field.

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger confirmed the skill of American intelligence last July in Moscow when he reported that Soviet experts had been startled by his knowledge of their missile installations as they discussed the next round of the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT).

"In the 1960s we had a great debate on the missile gap," an intelligence expert said. "Now we can't have that debate — we have the facts ... the SALT talks depend on this kind of intelligence."

Research and analysis are the chief functions of the CIA. Most of its 16,000 employees work in a huge, isolated building in suburban Langley, Va., in academic-like pursuit of knowledge with the benefit of "total sources."

The CIA overseas agents collect secret information, which is combined with public material and data from electronic systems to

produce reports that are supposed to be neutral in political content and as accurate as possible.

"If we learn when another power is developing a weapons system when it is on the drawing board instead of when it appears in the field, then we can do something about it," a CIA man said. "But if we see it only in the field, we may be three or four years behind."

Agency officials call themselves the "technicians" of intelligence because they are only part of a larger community and take their orders on operations from elsewhere.

Colby, an easy-going man of medium height who hardly looks the part of a secret agent who worked behind enemy lines in World War II, not only heads the CIA but holds the position of director of central intelligence to coordinate activities of all information-gathering agencies.

He sits as head of the U.S. Information Board, which includes the Defense Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency, the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Atomic Energy commission, Federal Bureau of Investigation and Department of the Treasury.

Experts from each agency submit reports on different intelligence issues; and when conflicts in information develop, Colby resolves them.

The missions of the CIA, Defense Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency and other intelligence gatherers are set out by another little known coordinating group called the 40 Committee, which is headed by Kissinger through his position as assistant to the President for national security.

In defending itself from criticism, the CIA pointed out that its instructions on

~~covert~~ operations come from this super secret committee whose decisions are approved personally by the President.

"Being under pressure is nothing novel to the agency," a CIA man said recently. "The thing that is different is the climate of opinion in America, which is more questioning, more demanding than it used to be . . .

"We have tried to come out and explain things to the American people."

To gain new credibility and political support, the CIA is conducting a modest public relations and lobbying campaign.

One agency source said Colby met every morning with his advisers on congressional and public affairs.

When it came time to receive congressional confirmation for his appointment last year, Colby passed the word that he had no objection to being the first intelligence chief to face the Senate Armed Services Committee in an open hearing.

"That's fine, I think it's great," Colby said recently. "Frankly, I think it is protection for the republic that the head of intelligence is subject to that kind of popular and congressional control."

The agency has established three levels of exposure, starting with a public stance that includes the congressional hearing and some speeches.

At the next level, the CIA makes some of its research available to different agencies, reporters and academic groups. A recent congressional report on the Soviet economy, for instance, includes chapters written by CIA experts that contain information to be found nowhere else.

~~On a more mundane level; the CIA prints the only accurate street map of Moscow, one based on aerial photographs of the city. The Russians publish for tourists only "schematic" maps of their cities.~~

~~At a third level, the CIA talks only to a small number of senators and representatives on two committees that have the official duty of overseeing its work. They get "total information," a CIA man said.~~

~~The agency's secret budget—estimated at \$750 million a year, or less than 10% of what all intelligence activity costs—is apportioned by the congressional committees but is buried in various accounts.~~

~~The agency staff has been trimmed in an efficiency program started when Secretary of Defense James R. Schlesinger served a short term as CIA director. Targets of this campaign were older "romantic" officials and agents more attuned to the darker days of the cold~~

~~war than the modern era of East-West relations.~~

~~Although the most severe critics of the CIA have not been satisfied with the changes the agency has made in its operations, there is little doubt that Colby has been able, so far, to neutralize the most serious opposition without giving away very much of what he considers the agency's vital secrets.~~

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The Washington Merry-Go-Round**Ex-CIA Man Tells Secret War Effort**

By Jack Anderson

B-3

A former insider has charged that the Central Intelligence Agency has provided the President with the military wherewithal to wage his own private wars around the world and is geared to fight still new clandestine wars.

In a confidential memo to Rep. Herman Badillo (D-N.Y.), former CIA official Victor Marchetti makes these allegations:

- The White House has used "vague phraseology" in the law to build up a vast military arsenal and paramilitary force. Past presidents have ordered the CIA to wage secret wars in Asia, Africa and Latin America "without the traditional constitutional safeguards and congressional oversight."

- The CIA "has bought and sold air transport companies all over the world" from the Congo to Nepal, so the President could mount paramilitary operations almost anywhere. Marchetti claims one such company, Air America, "has grown so large, owning more aircraft than most major U.S. airlines, that it was a source

of embarrassment within the agency. A senior officer had to be assigned the full-time job of keeping an eye on George Dole (the founder) in the hope of cooling his fantastic business success in the Far East."

Southern Air Transport, a Miami-based firm, is also fingered by Marchetti as a CIA subsidiary. "The sole purpose for the existence of SAT," he asserts, "is that the CIA be ready for the contingency that some day it will have to ferry men and material to some Latin American country to wage a clandestine war."

Fire Fighters

Marchetti also identifies Rocky Mountain Air of Phoenix as "one of the more colorful companies owned by the CIA." This outfit specializes, he says, "in training and air-lifting parachutists, ostensibly for fire fighting purposes." But he then points out that the CIA has no need of fire fighting capability "unless it is to put out military brushfires south of the border."

- The CIA's "air capabilities, its warehouses full of unmarked military supplies in the Midwest, a secret demolition training base in North

The Washington Post Times Herald B-13

The Washington Daily News _____
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Carolina, even a secret airbase in Nevada, and its connections with international arms dealing firms," Marchetti charges, give the President a formidable, secret war-making capability.

A CIA spokesman acknowledged that Marchetti formerly held a position of trust at CIA headquarters. He resigned several months ago to write a novel, "The Rope Dancer," based on his CIA experiences. But he abandoned fiction recently to write a detailed background memo for Congressman Badillo, who has introduced legislation to restrict the CIA to intelligence gathering and to prohibit clandestine wars.

Declarerse Marchetti: "Airports and huge supply bases were secretly established up-country, close to the action. Arms and material were delivered by the boatload from the CIA's warehouses in the Far East and the United States.

"Guerrilla chieftains were recruited to lead the Meos, who would actually fight the war for the CIA. The government of Laos was placated and finessed into turning things over to the CIA opera-

tors who could conduct the conflict

Swashbuckling Agents

"The chief of station—the CIA's top post in the field—during the crucial mid-60s, was _____. His previous assignment had been Berlin, where he announced to the CIA contingent there upon his arrival that he intended 'to tear down that blankety-blank wall.' He was transferred to Laos before he had the opportunity to carry out his threat, in part because of his ferociousness. "He has been succeeded by _____, former chief of station in the Belgian Congo. When things grew quiet there, he once dropped everything for a clandestine foray into the French Congo in hope of tracking down Che Guevara."

"He failed. But his fellow operators a couple of years later eventually caught up with the revolutionary in Bolivia.

"These are the kind of men who have led the CIA in Laos, and the CIA has led the U.S. into another humiliating, inextricable international dilemma."

Bell-McClure Syndicate

Judge Halts Ex-CIA Official's Disclosures

A federal judge, acting at the Justice Department's request, has ordered a former Central Intelligence Agency official to stop talking to news media and publishers about government secrets.

The order issued yesterday by U.S. District Judge Albert V. Bryan Jr. of Alexandria is aimed at Victor L. Marchetti, 42, of Vienna, Va., who resigned from the CIA in August, 1969.

Bryan's order will last for ten days, and at the end of that period — on April 28 — the judge will hold a hearing to determine whether to keep the order in effect.

The Justice Department identified Marchetti as a staff member of the CIA from 1955 through 1969. During his employment, the department said, he served for a time as executive assistant to Vice Admiral Rufus Taylor, who was then CIA's deputy director.

After leaving the CIA Marchetti wrote "The Rope Dancer" which was published last year by Grosset & Dunlap of New York and he also has an article in the April issue of the National magazine entitled "CIA — The President's Loyal Tool."

In a complaint yesterday, the Justice Department said that Marchetti has been talking repeatedly to news media representatives and disclosing to them secrets about U.S. intelligence operations.

The government filed with the judge and has asked him to keep secret copies of a magazine article which, the complaint said, has been sold for publication, and a typewritten copy of a proposal for a full-length book dealing with CIA operations.

Marchetti said last night that he had a contract with Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., to write a nonfiction book about the

agency but that he had not begun to write it.

Marchetti said that his book would be "a balanced attempt to try to explain how the agency works." He said he had agreed to submit it to the agency for scrutiny before it was published.

"I don't know what they're getting so excited about," Marchetti said. "I'm kind of confused as to why they're going to these lengths."

The article, the complaint said, was prepared by Marchetti under the title, "Twilight of the Spooks." Justice Department spokesmen would not confirm a report that the magazine involved is Esquire.

In New York, however, an Esquire editor, Donald Erickson, said Esquire had considered Marchetti's article but decided several weeks ago, with the amicable concurrence of the author, not to publish it, the Associated Press reported.

Erickson said the rejection was made for literary reasons and not in fear that the government might move to stop its publication.

David Obst, Marchetti's literary representative, told the New York Times he had withdrawn the article from Esquire because he did not want the information to be published before Marchetti's proposed book was written.

CIA Director Richard Helms, in a document filed with the court, said that both of these items contain intelligence data that, if disclosed, would "compromise" current spying operations, cause "grave and irreparable harm" to defense interests, and "seriously disrupt" U.S. foreign relations.

The government challenge to Marchetti potentially raises a new dispute, like that involving last year's newspaper publication of the Pentagon Papers, over published revelations of U.S. secrets.

While Bryan's order does not specifically forbid any magazine or publisher by name to disclose material from Marchetti, the order is aimed at "persons in active concert or participation with" Marchetti in disclosure of U.S. secrets.

Besides banning further disclosures temporarily, the court order requires Marchetti to submit to the CIA 30 days in advance any article — including fiction — dealing with CIA operations.

In addition, Marchetti is ordered to return any CIA documents he has, and any notes or memos he has written about them.

The government's challenge to Marchetti is based primarily on a claim that he has violated a contract he signed when he became a CIA employee pledging not to disclose or reveal any secret data unless he was given permission by the CIA director to do so.

DATE 4-19-72

PAGE A-3

THE WASHINGTON POST
& TIMES HERALD

THE EVENING STAR

THE SUNDAY STAR

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS

WASHINGTON-AFRO AMERICAN

(initials)

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FBI - WASH. D.C.	

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62-9256-56
Subject of FOIPA request
by 190-WF-200586
Retain 6 years beyond
10-6-95

CIA Says It Won't Prosecute Ex-Agent for Revealing Secrets

By Jim Mann
Washington Post Staff Writer

A spokesman for the Central Intelligence Agency yesterday ruled out the possibility that the CIA will seek a criminal prosecution of former agent Victor L. Marchetti for allegedly disclosing agency secrets.

"We're not going to do anything like that, for heaven's sake," the CIA spokesman said. "All we want is for this guy to shut up. It's a one-time thing, I think."

On Tuesday, the Justice Department, acting on behalf of the CIA, obtained a temporary court order preventing Marchetti from writing about CIA activities, as he had planned under a contract with the publishing house of Alfred A. Knopf.

Yesterday, there were the following other developments:

- Marchetti struck back at the CIA, contending that its efforts to keep him from writing his book reflect "a paranoid, clandestine mentality, more than I ever thought." He retired from the CIA in 1969.

- A spokesman for the American Civil Liberties Union, which has agreed to represent Marchetti, termed the impending court battle over Marchetti's book more important than the battle over the Pentagon Papers on the Vietnam war last June.

- A spokesman for Knopf said that the publishing house has not yet decided whether it, too, will enter the court battle. Yesterday afternoon, lawyers for Knopf were said to be studying the order issued by U.S. District Court Judge Albert V. Bryan Jr. in Alexandria.

Issues Denial

Byan's order also requires Marchetti to show the CIA anything he writes about the

subject of intelligence, even if it is fictional, within 30 days before its release, and orders Marchetti to return to the CIA any documents he might have taken when he quit the agency.

In an interview yesterday, Marchetti denied that he had ever taken any documents from the CIA.

"I don't have any documents to return . . . I'm not a (Daniel) Ellsberg. I did not walk out with a boxload of stuff. That's not my bag."

Marchetti said that the book he plans is not yet written. He has just finished his reading and research for it, he said. He envisions the book as "at times apologetic, at times critical" of the CIA.

The former agent has already written a novel about the CIA called "The Rope Dancer." He said yesterday that he submitted a copy of the novel to the CIA in advance. The agency had no official comment, he said.

The grounds on which the Justice Department obtained the court order is that Marchetti, when hired by the CIA

in 1955, signed a "secrecy agreement" preventing him from disclosing information about agency activities without clearance from the director of the CIA.

Effect of Publicity

Marchetti, who now supports himself with the money he earns from writing about the CIA and intelligence, said he hopes the new publicity will help his novel "It's still dribbling along (in sales) . . . I'm hoping some good will come out of this."

Ralph Temple, executive director of the ACLU's Washington office, said he feels Marchetti's case overshadows the battle over the Pentagon Papers because "There you were talking about publishing government documents (about the Vietnam war). Here they're stopping a guy from writing something."

DATE 4-20-72

PAGE A-2

THE WASHINGTON POST & TIMES HERALD

THE EVENING STAR

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THE WASHINGTON DAI

WASHINGTON-AFRO AMERICAN

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62-9252-56

**CIA WILL GIVE DATA
TO ENJOIN EX-AGENT**

WASHINGTON, April 26 (AP) — The Central Intelligence Agency agreed today to disclose its case against a former agent, Victor L Marchetti, to lawyers defending his right to write about the agency.

The CIA acceded to demands by lawyers of the American Civil Liberties Union while a three-judge panel of the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit was hearing the case in Alexandria, Va.

The jurists, however, refused to invalidate a temporary restraining order placed on Mr Marchetti on April 17, which prohibited him from talking to news media or publishers about Government secrets.

The Government obtained the injunction against him because of an article that he had proposed to write about the workings of the agency for Esquire Magazine. He also has contracted with the publisher Alfred A Knopf, Inc., to write a book about the CIA.

The three-judge panel said that the CIA should attempt to grant security clearance to witnesses in the case so that they may examine the Government's case against Mr. Marchetti in preparing their testimony.

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Ban on Book Is Extended In CIA Case

A former CIA aide, under a temporary injunction that prohibits him from talking to news media or publishers about any government secrets, has been told by a federal judge that he may not circulate a spy novel among interested publishers.

Melvin L Wulf, American Civil Liberties Union legal director, argued unsuccessfully before U.S. District Judge Albert V Bryan Jr in Alexandria Friday the ban on fiction is unprecedented in the United States and "the most extraordinary event in constitutional law." Bryan gave no reason for denying Wulf's request that the ban be restricted to nonfiction.

Victor L Marchetti, 42, of Vienna, Va., said after the court session that he has the first draft of a spy novel entitled "The Rat in the Cellar" ready to send to interested publishers. He declined to discuss it further because of the injunction.

Bryan issued the temporary injunction April 18 at the request of the government. Marchetti is under contract with various magazines and the publishing firm of Alfred A. Knopf Inc to write an analysis of the Central Intelligence Agency workings.

Marchetti, at one time special assistant to the CIA deputy director, had a first spy novel published last year.

The temporary injunction was to expire Friday, but it was extended at Wulf's request. He told the judge that there had been inadequate time to prepare a case.

Bryan set a hearing on the temporary injunction and a possible permanent injunction for May 15.

DATE 4-30-72

PAGE A-17

THE WASHINGTON POST & TIMES HERALD

THE EVENING STAR

THE SUNDAY STAR

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS

WASHINGTON-AFRO AMERICAN

62-9252-58

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FBI - WASH F. O.	
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63-9856-69

Subject of FOIPA request
by 190-WF-3.00586
Retain 6 years beyond
10-6-95

Ban on Book **About CIA** **Is Apealed**

Former Central Intelligence Agency official Vincent L Marchetti asked the Supreme Court yesterday to set aside lower court orders forbidding him to publish a book on the CIA without advance approval of his former superiors

In a petition filed by the American Civil Liberties Union, Marchetti claimed that an injunction by the district court in Alexandria, sustained Sept. 11 by the U.S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, violated his First Amendment rights of free expression

Lower courts held that Marchetti, an assistant to the CIA's deputy director before he resigned in 1969 waived whatever rights he had when he joined the agency in 1955 and signed agreements not to publish classified information

DATE 9-23-72

PAGE A-2

THE WASHINGTON POST
& TIMES HERALD

THE EVENING STAR

THE SUNDAY STAR

THE WASHINGTON DAILY NEWS

WASHINGTON-AFRO AMERICAN

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FBI - WASH. F. O.	

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-375019)

DATE: MAY 9 1975

FROM : *JWJ* SAC, NEW YORK (100-104063) (C)
wp

SUBJECT: CONFERENCE ENTITLED "THE CIA AND WORLD PEACE,"
SPONSORED BY PROMOTING ENDURING PEACE, INC.

YALE LAW SCHOOL, NEW HAVEN, CONN.

4/5/75

Attached for the Bureau are five copies and for New Haven two copies of an LHM dated and captioned as above. Information contained in attached LHM is submitted for the information of the Bureau and the New Haven Office.

Source utilized in attached LHM is [redacted]
Attached LHM is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" to protect this source.

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(see copy attached)

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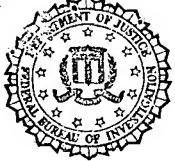
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5/23/75 mmd

4 JUN 4

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

MAY 9 1975

Conference Entitled "The CIA and World Peace," Sponsored by Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc., Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut, April 5, 1975

On April 9, 1975, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information concerning captioned conference including personal opinions and conclusions not necessarily confirmed through other sources.

On Saturday, April 5, 1975, Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc. (PEP), whose mailing address is P.O. Box 103, Woodmont, Connecticut 06460, sponsored a conference on the topic 'The CIA and World Peace,' at Yale Law School in New Haven, Connecticut. The avowed purpose of the conference was to generate massive public pressure for an open and full-scale investigation of the Central Intelligence Agency and its role in domestic and international affairs in the postwar period.

"Registration for the conference began at 9:00 a.m. in the Yale Law School building. Each registrant signed his name and address to a roll of participants and paid the sum of \$2 for a card which admitted him to all sessions and an envelope containing the basic documents of the conference. By 10 o'clock the Law School auditorium was nearly filled, and

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES

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1-6-78

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DATE 2/13/78 DML/5mu

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ENCLOSURE

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Conference Entitled "The CIA and World Peace," Sponsored by Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc., Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut, April 5, 1975

"shortly thereafter the plenary began. The welcome was delivered by Willard Uphaus, the Vice President of PEP and the hero of a celebrated affair during the McCarthy era. The moderator of the plenary session was Russell Johnson, of American Friends Service Committee.

"The first speaker was Michael Harrington, a Democratic Congressman from Massachusetts, who talked about the current investigation and the attitude of Congress generally toward the CIA and the activities of the military-industrial complex. He was rather pessimistic about the yet unfinished report of the Rockefeller Commission, and also about the eagerness of his colleagues to investigate matters which they had for twenty-five years studiously neglected. After him came Ernest DeMaio, representative of the World Federation of Trade Unions to the United Nations, who described the activities of the CIA within the trade union movement in Europe and the countries of the Third World. N. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

"Florencio Merced, of the Political Commission of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, spoke in Spanish with an English translator rendering his speech paragraph by paragraph. He said that once the Puerto Ricans considered themselves fortunate in that being part of the United States, they were within the jurisdiction of the FBI, but since they were also in some respects a foreign country, they fell within the purview of the CIA. Now that the conduct of the CIA within the country was coming to light, they no longer felt that they were in a privileged category. He said that the CIA funded the dominant political parties on the island through various front groups and operations, and paid Cuban refugees and other reactionary elements to make armed attacks on leftist groups. The FBI was involved in breaking into the consulates of countries that maintained diplomatic relations with Cuba. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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"Various high officials of the Commonwealth had admitted to being on the CIA payroll.

~~Victor Marchetti and John Marks, co-authors of The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence, spoke about their experiences within the Central Intelligence Agency.~~ They asserted that only the political right needs or works in the intelligence community, as its function is primarily a conservative and repressive one. Their remarks rambled over many areas, including the authors' experiences in foreign countries where the CIA had trained and equipped the local police and military authorities. One of them, when asked if the CIA had been involved in the political assassinations that have occurred in this country in the past 12 years, replied that personnel of the CIA may have participated in these crimes but that the Agency itself had not been.

CIA

"After the brief question-and-answer period, the plenary was adjourned at 12:30 p.m. for lunch. Then, an hour later, the workshops assembled in assigned rooms in the Law School building. Room 127 was overflowing with people who had come to hear the discussion of 'Surveillance and Domestic Operations.' First to speak was Frank Donner, whose theme was "The Legality of CIA Domestic Operations and the Extent of Con, Surveillance." He asserted that despite all claims to the contrary, the CIA and the FBI had no Constitutional authority to conduct their extensive and long-term surveillance of political groups and their activities, and that even after J. Edgar Hoover's death, his successor at the head of the Bureau was still seeking such a legal mandate.

"Then Kirkpatrick Sale talked about the "Sabotage of the New Left" in the form of organized disruptions, the ransacking and destruction of offices, and the creation of groups whose function it was to reinforce sectarian conflict while spying on the activity of other segments of the New Left. He mentioned specifically Gi Schafer, of Metairie, Louisiana, and his wife, who had founded an FBI-financed

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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"front group in the New Orleans area.

"Last of all, John Marks discussed "The Domestic Structure: An Overview." He pictured the CIA as a vast operation with enormous physical resources that included several airlines extending across the globe. Its capital was such that it could earn a sizable profit on its front operations in various countries. It had offices in all major cities of the United States, and was intimately involved in Howard Hughes' global chain of enterprises, which afforded a perfect cover for all types of activities--from narcotics smuggling to assassination.

"At the close of the workshop, the audience was asked to vote on what should be done about the CIA--should it be left as it now is, reformed, or abolished entirely? The vote was overwhelmingly for abolition, and a petition was circulated among the participants at the conference urging just such an action.

"The workshop that began at 4:15 p.m. in the Law School Auditorium on the topic "Was the CIA Involved in Dallas?" attracted so many people that the overflow crowd filled Room 127 again, where the proceedings were to be televised. As luck would have it, both the video and the audio equipment broke down--an event that was blamed on CIA infiltrators. After about 45 minutes, the sound was turned on in the Cafeteria, and Mark Lane's speech could be heard.

"He repeated his well-known criticisms of the Warren Commission Report, and added some additional findings that had come to light as a result of the conference held in Boston at the end of January. The Zapruder film was shown in the Auditorium, and it was highly convincing. The sequence that included the moment of the assassination left no doubt in the

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Conference Entitled "The CIA and World Peace," Sponsored by Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc., Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut, April 5, 1975

"minds of the viewers that the bullets that killed President Kennedy came from two directions. The first struck him from behind and caused him to slump forward and sidewise in the car toward his wife, who was sitting at his left hand. The second hit him from the front with great violence, blowing off the top of his head and causing him to fall backward while blood spattered the vehicle. Bob Groden and Bob Salzman further talked about other aspects of the cover story, including the doctored photograph of Oswald holding the Mannlicher-Carcano rifle--which Lane said that Italian veterans of the Second World War had laughed to hear described as a precision weapon.

"By now it was almost 6:00 p.m. and there was no time for John Marks to speak on "Political Organizing," which had been planned as the final topic of the afternoon, and which meant a consideration of the techniques by which Middle America could be persuaded that the CIA was a thoroughly despicable organization and ought to be abolished.

"The evening program was scheduled for 8:00 p.m. in Battell Chapel at the northeast corner of the Old Campus. The participants, after having two hours for dinner, began to fill the Chapel half an hour early, but the proceedings commenced only at half past eight. The first speaker was Colonel Fletcher Prouty, a former liaison officer between the Defense Department and CIA. He talked about the institutional origins of the CIA in the postwar period and the role of the Dulles brothers in designing and implementing the idea of a central information-gathering agency that would coordinate the activities of hitherto separate bodies. In the course of time the illegal functions of the CIA had overshadowed and crowded out the legitimate ones. He urged that the origins of the CIA be carefully investigated, the illegal activities abolished, and the agency reduced to mere data-collecting functions.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Conference Entitled "The CIA and World Peace," Sponsored by Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc., Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut, April 5, 1975

" Then an idiotic Negress introduced as the Rev. Willie Mae Barrow, Vice President of People United to Save Humanity, told how four different agencies had infiltrated her organization to frustrate its noble purposes. Her behavior on the podium was such that any surveillance of her Chicago-based group could only be described as ignorance eavesdropping on imbecility. She claimed that the assassination of Martin Luther King had been the work of a conspiracy, and that J. Edgar Hoover had an especial detestation of King, whom he regarded as a tool of the Communists.

" The climax of the evening was an address by Senora Hortensia Bussi de Allende, the widow of former President Allende of Chile. She addressed the packed hall in Spanish while a translator rendered each section of her talk into English. She told how the State Department and the CIA had done everything in their power to "destabilize" the democratically elected government of Chile by denying it financial credit abroad while fomenting and aiding the violent overthrow of that government by right-wing elements within the military. At the conclusion of her speech, she called upon the American audience to work for the destruction of the crypto-Fascist forces within their own country who had sabotaged the democratic Left in Chile and elsewhere abroad.

" This concluded the day-long program on the CIA and the intelligence community. The gathering was well attended, though no figures on registration were announced. At a rough estimate some 750 people were present from ten states; while many came from the Yale campus, there were not a few outsiders and a considerable number of middle-aged people, including activists in a variety of organizations.

" Apart from the sponsorship by PEP, the chapter of the National Lawyers Guild at Yale was instrumental in arranging

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Conference Entitled "The CIA and World Peace," Sponsored by Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc., Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut, April 5, 1975

"the program. At least 40% of the participating groups were Communist-front organizations, and it is hardly an accident that the moderator of the workshop on "CIA Intervention in Latin America, Africa, and Portugal" was Joelle Fishman, the Communist Party's organizational secretary for Connecticut. Of the leftist sects, only the Young Spartacist League made an appearance; it is not by chance that this group has been displaying a presence on the Yale and Columbia campuses in the last month. The Socialist Workers Party, the other Trotskyite sects, and the pseudo-Maoist groups were nowhere to be seen. The literature tables were devoted mostly to the publications of groups doing research on the intelligence community or on American involvement in the political and economic life of other countries.

"The FBI was mentioned only occasionally and peripherally in the course of the day, as the main focus of attention was the CIA, though it was stated from time to time that still other intelligence-gathering bodies exist at state and local as well as the Federal level of government. There was no demand for the abolition of the FBI or for the curtailment of its functions as a Federal police agency, but speakers did assert that its surveillance and disruption of the Left should be prohibited.

"Thus the destruction of the Central Intelligence Agency has become a major goal of the Communist Party in the United States, and "organizing" toward this end may be expected to mount in the coming months. The opening wedge in this campaign is the drive to reopen the investigation of the assassination of President Kennedy which is now in progress: the critics of the Warren Commission Report, some of whom are unquestionably sincere, are to be drawn into the network of Communist agitation against the CIA. And this is a psychologically sound tactic: nothing would discredit the CIA more

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" than the revelation that some of its members, or even its leadership, had participated in the killing of an American president. It was clear from the day's proceedings that an intensive search is in progress for the most discreditable acts that can be imputed to the CIA so that publicizing them can make the agency forever infamous in the eyes of the nation. The real motive was well expressed by a member of the audience who humorously proposed that when the CIA is finally abolished, its files and assets should be turned over to the KGB.

"In addition to the \$2 registration fee, further monies were raised by selling peanut butter and tuna fish sandwiches for \$1 apiece at lunchtime. There was also the standard request for donations during the evening program.

"The conference was adjourned at 11:15 p.m."

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APPENDIX

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA)

Title 30, USC, Section 723 (Internal Security Act of 1950) stated that, as a result of evidence adduced before various committees of the Senate and House of Representatives, Congress found the existence of a world communist revolutionary movement, whose purpose is to establish a communist totalitarian dictatorship in the world's countries through the medium of a world-wide communist organization. Communist action organizations in various countries endeavor to carry out the objectives of the world communist movement by bringing about the overthrow of existing governments by any means. The communist organization in the United States -- the CPUSA -- pursuing its stated objectives, presents "a clear and present danger to the security of the United States." The Subversive Activities Control Board, established by Section 791 of the above Act, found the CPUSA to be a communist action organization. This finding was upheld by the United States Supreme Court in June, 1961. The CPUSA has continued to be an arm of the international communist movement dominated by the Soviet Union. The CPUSA, in its dependence on the Soviet Union, has never knowingly adopted a position contrary to Soviet policy. Its leaders frequently confer with Soviet leaders to receive guidance and direction on the policies the CPUSA is to follow. There has been no evidence that the primary aims of the CPUSA, as they conform to Soviet objectives, have changed over the years.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD (NLG)

The NLG was formed in 1936. It was cited as a Communist front by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, in House Report 3123 on the NLG, dated September 21, 1950. At the 1971 NLG Convention, a resolution was introduced that the NLG direct its actions and programs toward inmate groups, prison organizing groups, jailhouse lawyers, and military projects attacking military stockade conditions. At a June, 1972, NLG Conference, it was stated in a position paper that, "Prisoners are the revolutionary vanguard of our struggle. When prisoners come out, they will lead us in the streets because they have experienced the most blatant oppression that this system can produce." A paper presented at the 1973 NLG Convention concluded that the prison movement is an important aspect of the revolutionary struggle in "Amerika" and that legal people, because they have free access to prisons, are important to the prison movement. It was noted that "... by building organizations of revolutionary people ... we can move forward to make a victorious revolution in this country." A resolution circulated at the 1973 NLG Convention equated military organizing with the proletariat organizing necessary for a successful revolution. It was pointed out that the military must be neutralized before a successful revolution is possible and that it may be possible to mobilize the military in support of a revolution. The NLG is presently headquartered in New York, New York.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

PARTIDO SOCIALISTA PUERTORRIQUIENO (PSP)
(SOCIALIST PARTY OF PUERTO RICO)

The PSP is a Marxist-Leninist organization which advocates total independence for Puerto Rico from the United States. PSP was founded in Puerto Rico in November, 1971, at the Eighth Annual Convention of the Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico (Puerto Rican Independence Movement) when the membership of the latter organization voted to change its name to PSP.

The PSP openly supports the revolutionary government of Cuba and maintains permanent representation in Havana. The official PSP publication, "Claridad", has frequently claimed the right of PSP to use violence to accomplish its revolutionary objectives.

APPENDIX

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